Castle-talks on Cross-Border Cooperation

Fear of Integration?
The Pertinence of the Border

Edited by Birte Wassenberg

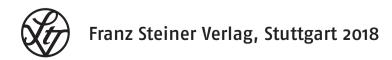## Table of Contents / Table des matières / Inhaltsverzeichnis

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INTEGRATION IN CROSS-BORDER REGIONS: OBSTACLES AND SOLUTIONS

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The contribution aims to sketch a general approach of obstacles to integration in cross-border regions and possible solutions. It proposes to define integration through the concepts of social and territorial cohesion, which underpin the European cohesion policy.[1] For this we shall build on French sociology; specifically Durkheim's concept of social cohesion and Boltanski and Thévenot model of the six "cities" (polities). This model will allow us to describe the components of cohesion within national contexts, in terms of: the domestic city (networks of people); the city of fame (media, opinion); the market city; the industrial city (infrastructure, public services); the civic city (politics); and the inspired city (culture, vision). We will then use this model to categorize possible components of what would be a cohesion of Europe and of cross border regions therefore, what are the obstacles to their integration, in the context of multi-level governance that is characteristic of cross border cooperation in the EU. We will illustrate this model briefly through the case of Greater Geneva and other cross-border conurbations. We will conclude with some considerations about the future of cohesion policy.

I. European integration through the concept of social and territorial cohesion

The European Union (EU) is supposed to be built via a process of "construction" – through artefacts such as the Single Market, Eurozone, Schengen space, etc. – with the ultimate aim of integration and this process is described as having to solve "obstacles".[2] What does integration mean as an objective of the EU? To answer this question, the EU Treaties provide a composite basis.

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1   This contriution builds on a more complete one in French: PEYRONY, J., "Frontières et cohésion territoriale" in: BECK, J., WASSENBERG, B. (ed.), *Vivre et penser la coopération transfrontalière. Vers une cohésion territoriale? Contributions du cycle de recherche sur la coopération transfrontalière de l'Université de Strasbourg et l'Euro-Institut*, Steiner-Verlag, Stuttgart: 2014.

2   The issue of obstacles to cross border cooperation has been addressed by the Council of Europe; see ISIG, *Manual on removing cross border cooperation obstacles,* Gorizia, 2001 (based on the questionnaires distributed by the COE Committee of experts on local and regional government institutions and cooperation); the Resolution of the Congress of local and regional authorities on "Prospects for effective transfrontier cooperation in Europe", Strasbourg, 31.10.2013; RICQ, Ch., *Handbook of transfrontier cooperation*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2006; BECK, J., "Cross border cooperation and the European Administrative Space-Prospects for the principle of mutual recognition", *Journal of European Integration*, 2015; The present contribution strives for a conceptual generalization of their statements.

According to the Treaty of the European Union, its aims are (articles 1,3):

> "Creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe [in order to]. . . offer its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers, in which the free movement of persons is ensured are included. The Union shall promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States, [and]. . . .shall establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro".

In the Treaty on the functioning of the EU (articles 26, 174):

> "The internal market shall comprise an area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured in accordance with the provisions of the Treaties. In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Union shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic, social and territorial cohesion. Among the regions concerned, particular attention shall be paid to … regions which suffer from severe and permanent natural or demographic handicaps such as … cross-border regions".

Our hypothesis is that the concept of cohesion documented not only by the Treaty, but also by the EU legislation and more widely the debates around cohesion policy, is the most appropriate to discuss the objective of 'integration'. As a matter of fact, cohesion policy is the 2nd policy of the EU after Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in terms of budget, and therefore much discussed, in particular by the reports on cohesion issued every third year by the European Commission. Other reports that have fed the debate in the last decade: The "Barca"[3] report, and the "Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion".[4]

The foundations of the European cohesion policy in its present form were set by Jacques Delors, President of the Commission between 1985 and 1995, through his efforts to promote the Single Market.[5] Cohesion policy has been designed to accompany the opening of national economies, and to allow access to the Single Market for all citizens,[6] and for all the regions.[7] The concept of territorial cohesion (after active lobbying) was introduced in the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), which assigns the objective to Services of General Economic Interest (SGEI), and then by the Treaty of Lisbon (2007), which puts territorial cohesion alongside economic and social cohesion as one of the objectives, not only of the cohesion policy, but also of all European and national policies. For Delors, the EU in a nutshell was: Single Market + Cohesion. As he often said, Europe is "competition that stimulates, cooperation that strengthens, solidarity that unifies," and cohesion policy aims at supporting these three aspects.

But what is territorial cohesion? Discussions of the last 20 years, including the debate on the Green paper on territorial cohesion, delineate its various aspects. First of all, the concept of territory, more specific than region, allows us to identi-

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3   http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/policy/future/barca_en.htm (3.3.2016).
4   http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/what/territorial-cohesion/ (3.3.2016).
5   See the Single Act (1986) and the Maastricht Treaty (1992).
6   Social cohesion, measured by indicators such as employment rate, funded by the European social fund (ESF).
7   Economic cohesion, measured by indicators such as GDP/inhabitant, funded by the European regional development Fund (ERDF).

fy different scales (local, regional, national, European); different types of spaces (urban, rural...; islands, mountains…; cross-border regions (in the words of article 174)); and handicaps or potentials which are attached thereto. The heart of this concept of territorial cohesion is linked to mobility of actors, specialization, and the interdependence of spaces, as well as to territorial integration within functional spaces, in 'soft' spaces such as functional urban areas (FUAs),[8] macro-regions (Baltic...), and cross-border territories.

If one wants to give a political basis to territorial cohesion, the concept can be informed by a parallel with that of social cohesion. The latest has been coined in 1893 by Emile Durkheim (considered the father of French sociology).[9] For Durkheim — who developed the new born science through a dialogue with economy — social cohesion is based not only on the social division of labor vis-a-vis the market, but also on laws and government action necessary to counter balance negative effects of the market. Durkheim's thought is the basis of the "solidarist doctrine" that has developed in the early 20th century France, where the State is legitimized by the production or regulation of public services.[10] Durkheim belongs to a school of thought which gathers from before him: Saint Simon[11]; and Auguste Comte; and those after him such as Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu.

We propose to define territorial cohesion as territorial division of labor, based not only on the market, but also on public regulations, introducing explicit goals, such as territorial balance, spatial justice, etc. Durkheim himself doesn't refer explicitly to territorial cohesion, but to the "inter-regional" division of labor and to the emergence of a European society at the end of the 19th century.

II. The components of cohesion within national contexts; the model of the six cities

Luc Boltanski has been the disciple of Pierre Bourdieu, leader of the French "critical sociology" in the late 20th century; but Boltanski broke with Bourdieu, preferring to develop a "sociology of critic". Together with Laurent Thévenot, their motto has been "to take the actors and their justifications seriously," when Bourdieu rather described actors from an external point of view, as if they were prisoners of their biased opinions and beliefs. In Boltanski's humanist approach, influenced by the personalism of the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, love and justice are considered as skills that allow actors to build arrangements escaping violence.[12]

Boltanski proposes to analyse common situations of the ordinary life through 2 dimensions: first, peace *or* dispute; second, "equivalence" (measure of things

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8   FALUDI, A., "Territorial cohesion, territorialism, territoriality, and soft planning: a critical review", *Environment and Planning* A, 45(6), 2013, p. 1302–1317.
9   DURKHEIM, E., *The Division of Labor in Society. W. D. Halls Trans*, Free Press, New York, 1997 (original work published 1893).
10   PEYRONY, J., "French Perspectives", in: FALUDI, A., *Territorial Cohesion and the European Model of Society*, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Massachusetts, 2007.
11   Who proposed to substitute "the administration of things to the government of human beings."
12   BOLTANSKI, L., *Love and Justice as Competences – Three Essays on the Sociology of Action*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2012 (original work published in 1990).

and people is possible through "épreuves" (tests) *or* "no equivalence". The combination of these 2 axes allows to build this matrix:[13]

	Peace	Dispute
No equiva-lence	Agape (love)	Violence
Equivalence	Justesse (routinized situations)	Justice (contest between different orders of equivalence)

Boltanski and Thévenot do not focus on situations of violence. To consider such situations (the contrary of cohesion) in the context of European borders would be relevant, as Europe has been at the origin of the two world wars of the last century, and it is on their ruins that the EU has been thought out and built; but it is out of the scope of this paper.[14] Situations of "agape"[15] have been studied by Boltanski.[16] These 2 types of situations are characterized by the fact that there is no 'equivalence' allowing to objectivize human relations; in such situations, the role played by objects is limited.

In this paper, we concentrate on how to obtain cohesion in situations of "equivalence": "*justesse*" and "justice". Both are built on the possibility to objectify arrangements through measure; here the objects play an important role, offering a "common world" to the actors, just like a table that unites and separates those who sit around in a common conversation, as H. Arendt explains.[17] In situations of "*justesse*", there is a single measure (for instance the fair price divulgated by the market); in situations of "justice", different systems of equivalence coexist.

Another specificity of Boltanski and Thévenot's approach is their pluralism, which allows going beyond simplistic models: actors are not simply *homo oeconomicu*s acting in the market, or citizens acting in political processes. They are human beings, persons, having competences, using alternatively various systems of justification, and not reducible to a list of properties. Therefore, they have proposed to analyze the building of the common good in modern societies on the basis of six systems of justification, called "cities", finding their source in the corpus of philosophy.[18] The six cities are polities, registers of argument and justifica-

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13   Source : BOLTANSKI, L., *Love and Justice as Competences – Three Essays on the Sociology of Action, op.cit.*

14   To study situations of violence, a major reference is the work of René Girard, who has outlined a general anthropological theory, embracing not only the ancient rites and myths, but also the genesis of culture and modern institutions. Beyond the opposition holism/individualism, his theory provides a common framework allowing to analyze interpersonal relations (psychology, education...), economy and politics and the way they "contain" violence, see PEYRONY, J., "Frontières et cohésion territoriale", *op.cit.*; PEYRONY, J., "La catastrophe de l'été 1914. L'État-nation et ses frontières : un sacrifice inutile", BRIT conference, Arras, November 2014, to be published in the online review RECERC (2017).

15   The vocabulary comes from the Christian tradition, illustrated by another personalist thinker, who is also a major reference in the contemporary history of Europe- he has advocated a Europe of regions and Euro-regions. DE ROUGEMONT, D., *L'Amour et l'Occident* (1939, revised 1956 and 1972), translated as *Love in the Western World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1983; DE ROUGEMONT, D., *L'Avenir est notre Affaire*, Stock, Paris, 1977.

16   BOLTANSKI, L., *Love and Justice as Competences – Three Essays on the Sociology of Action, op.cit.*

17   ARENDT, H., *The Human Condition*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958.

18   BOLTANSKI, L., THÉVENOT, L., *On Justification. The Economies of Worth*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2006. (Original work published 1991).

tion. Within each of these cities, specific objects play a role of interface in the relationship between human beings. The domestic city (illustrated by the work of Bossuet) is based on networks between individuals and on interpersonal trust; the city of fame (Hobbes) on opinion and communication; the market city (Smith) on exchange, prices, utility; the industrial city (Saint Simon) on science, performance and technical standards; the civic city (Rousseau) on suffrage and solidarity; the inspired city (St. Augustine) on shared belief and vision.

In each city, the regulation of relations between persons is based on "*justesse*". "*epreuves*" (tests), whose rules are acknowledged by them without any contest, allow determining "great" and "small" actors, referring to the system of equivalence that governs this city. For instance, in the industrial city, the engineer producing the most performing machine is great.[19] These cities are competing with each other, but they are not incompatible; they coexist and may cooperate as well, all contributing to "common good". Boltanski and Thévenot also analyze "justice" schemes: confrontation and compromise between cities. The systematic study of cross criticisms and compromises between the six cities allow to build a general grammar of debate, within firms (the empirical research field of "on justification"), but also within the field of public policies.

In his most recent opus, *Mysteries and Conspiracies,*[20] Boltanski studies English and French detective stories (Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes and Simenon's Commissaire Maigret) and spy novels. According to him, the success of this literature builds on questions arising in contemporary societies about the State. Detective stories describe a world where the social order is endangered by a non-elucidated crime. The mystery is a test for the State; the detective's mission is to find the criminal and restore order. Sherlock Holmes and Maigret illustrate the differences between the English and the French society. In England, in the context of a liberal capitalist, class society, the role of Sherlock Holmes, a private detective, is to solve the mystery upstream of the police intervention, so as to avoid scandal and favor arrangements between private actors. In France, where cohesion depends more on State's action against centrifugal forces such as diversity of milieux or local powers, the role of Maigret is to restore public order through the arrest of the criminal; it is the civil servant who embodies the State, and so assures the existence and continuity of the nation. Thus, detective stories contribute to forge the "national character" of each country.

Spy novels are based on a tension between the State's territory and enemies coming from outside, or even more frightening, stateless people or "enemies of the interior", that aim at destroying the State itself. They express the anxiety of societies facing increasing flows crossing borders, supposed to jeopardize the State's integrity. This is why this literature appears later than detective stories, in situations of war, where reality becomes unstable. John Buchan's *The 39 Steps*, which can be considered as a prototype of this genre, was published in 1915. Spy

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19   The "great" would correspond in Girard's vocabulary to the "external mediator" (for instance Don Quichotte for Sancho Panza). In situations of violence, mediation goes "internal": objects tend to disappear, as the conflict directly opposes two or more persons. Only forgiveness and love (Agape) can stop the contagion of violence; for H. Arendt, forgiveness is the remedy for the irreversibility of human action.
20   BOLTANSKI, L., *Mysteries and Conspiracies – Detective Stories, Spy Novels and the Making of Modern Societies*, Polity Press, Cambrigde, 2014.

novels reveal the essence of State, which is to be in war, and wars realize the unity of nations, as they make clear the limit between friends and enemies.[21]

Boltanski's thesis is that modern states, within their national territory, not only hold the, "monopoly of legitimate violence" (Weber), but also the monopoly of building the reality and defining a common framework of understanding, through laws, statistics, administration, education, media, etc. The sovereign state has to stop criminals; the modern State has, in addition, to make the events understandable and foreseeable. It remains the ultimate guardian of the citizens' security.[22]

The State is an arrangement of power, but also of knowledge. The object of sociology is to study society; but society remains encapsulated within the borders of Nation States. Even if it is difficult, the sociologist's role requires that he should get free of this original link between knowledge and the national framework.

III. The components of a possible cohesion of Europe or cross border regions, and the obstacles to their integration

We will now briefly present Boltanski and Thévenot's cities; in their book dated 1991, they mainly describe use of "cities" by individual actors in everyday life in firms; we will rather look into the world of public policies related to the management of space (planning, regional development,…), where the cities are also relevant, with a specific zoom on European and cross border integration.[23]

In the "city of market" (philosophical reference: Adam Smith), common objects are goods and services, money; the actors are *homo oeconomicus*, producers and consumers, who exchange so as to maximize their utility. The mode of equivalence is price. The capacity of persons is measured by their purchasing power. This city is central in the EU context, as the Common Market, then the Single Market have been put at the front row by Monnet and Schuman. Obstacles to cross border integration are caused by market failures and trade barriers;

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21   Here Boltanski is close to analyses of Carl Schmitt, or Paul Dumouchel, see for this PEYRONY, J., "La catastrophe de l'été 1914. L'État-nation et ses frontières : un sacrifice inutile", *op.cit.*

22   We can see the tension still existing between EU integration and the role of States, in art 36 TFEU acknowledging the legitimacy of EU internal borders as means of protection of the "national general interest". The re-establishment of border controls within the EU, in the context of the migrant crisis and terrorist attacks since 2015 is a perfect illustration of the sacred, irrational dimension of the border. Expert agree that solutions can only be developed by cooperation of Member states within an EU framework; controls at internal borders are reestablished to reassure national public opinions; but as they are perturbing the free movement, they are in fact limited, left to day to day trade-offs by public authorities, The population accepts them without understanding their logics.

23   Using the model of 6 Cities about obstacles to cross border integration seems to fit with empirical work; for instance, in its "Manual on removing obstacles to cross border cooperation", based on the questionnaire of Council of Europe, ISIG identifies 6 "factors as reasons for the persistence of such obstacles" : institutional, administrative, economic, expertise, cultural, propensity to cooperate ; they correspond more or less to civic, industrial, market, fame, inspired, domestic cities.

solutions lie in the development of cross border markets, information, through services such as: the European Consumption Center[24], Infobest.[25]

In the "city of industry" (philosophical reference: Saint Simon), common objects are machines, projects, norms, or in the field of spatial policies: master plans, infrastructure networks. The actors are engineers, users of public services, connected through functional links. The mode of equivalence is statistics, figures; the capacity of persons: science, efficiency, accountability. This city plays an important role in the European construction, which started with ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community), and later on with trans-european networks. The European Commission embodies this city. Obstacles to cross border integration are physical or administrative, due to divergent technical norms, lack of cross border data. Solutions lie in cross border observation; coordination of national and regional strategies across borders; development of cross border public services.

In the "civic city" (philosophical reference: Rousseau), common objects are laws, regulations, institutions. The actors are citizens, rights holders, public authorities, political leaders, linked through common belonging to civic communities, rights and duties, democratic control and solidarity. The mode of equivalence is representativeness, general interest. The capacity of persons is responsibility and civism. In the European construction, this city is embodied by the European Parliament, and emerging EU citizenship. Obstacles to cross border integration are legal and institutional, linked with Westphalian borders, dissymmetry of politic and administrative organizations across the borders. Solutions lie in the building of Euro-regions, European groupings of territorial cooperation (EGTCs or equivalent bodies) allowing a cross border multi-level governance.

In the "city of fame" (philosophical reference: Hobbes), common objects are signs, messages, information, benchmark, public space. The actors are media players and users. The mode of equivalence is reputation, expertise, brand. The capacity of persons is the ability to communicate. In the European construction, this city is embodied in European media, and in processes such as open method of coordination, peer review, naming and shaming. Obstacles to cross border integration lie in different languages, inexistence of cross border media and common knowledge, national stereotypes and prejudices. Solutions lie in the development of cross border media, maps, soft governance.

In the "domestic city" (philosophical reference: Bossuet), common objects are heritage and tradition. The actors are individuals, linked through personal networks, mutual trust. The mode of equivalence is position, hierarchy. The capacity of persons is authority, loyalty. From the beginning, the EU construction process is supposed to build such a European city. "We are not united as states, we are united as men" as Monnet said in Washington, on 30 April 1952. Erasmus programmes for students, workers, etc… are supposed to contribute to build such personal links. Obstacles to cross border integration are different languages, traditions and ways of life across the borders. Solutions lie in the will to build a cross border civil society, through people to people projects, popular events

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24   http://www.europe-consommateurs.eu/fr/en/home/ (2.3.2016).
25   http://www.infobest.eu/ (2.3.2016).

(sport…), projects involving youth, sustained for instance by small-project funds.[26]

Finally, the inspired 'City' (philosophical reference: St Augustine), common objects are moral and spiritual heritage, culture, sense of belonging. Actors are linked through the fact that they share a common identity and vision. The mode of equivalence is inspiration, imaginary community; the capacity of persons: creativity, passion. Europe is also supposed to be built through this city, as shows the famous quote from Jean Monnet – "If I had to do it again, I would start with culture" –, even if he probably never said it. Obstacles to cross border integration are different languages, narratives, visions and perspectives. Solutions lie in European and cross-border education and culture, projects such as common history books could contribute to this purpose.

The theory of cities provides a powerful tool to analyze national systems of public action; for instance, in France, the common good is built mostly as a compromise between political and technical legitimacies, between the civic and industrial cities: what Boltanski and Thévenot call the "civic-industrial compromise" – the market, in Durkheim's tradition, being kept at a distance. Our hypothesis is that the six cities are common to the different national communities (at least in democracies), but that they are combined differently in each national context. The purpose of this paper is not to test such a hypothesis in the case of the various States, but to explore how it can help to think cross border and European integration.[27]

Such integration is quite difficult, because the national arrangements of these cities differ across each border: nation states, beyond the fact that they organize the framework of our material life, are also shaping our minds. But if the bricks are the same, it may not be impossible. Actors generally act within their national 'habitus', but they are also human beings, and can act beyond it.[28] Actors are in boxes (territories), spaces of places; but they can get out of the boxes, and act in soft spaces, spaces of flows, for instance when they cooperate in cross border regions or at European level.[29]

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26   "People-to-people projects. Their Significance and contribution to success of cross-border (Interreg A) programmes" http://www.aebr.eu/files/publications/130416_Argumente_ Kleinprojekte_EN.pdf (3.6.2016).

27   E. BRUNET-JAILLY, in his seminal article "Theorizing borders: an interdisciplinary perspective", *Geopolitics*, (2005) 10, p. 633–649, suggests four analytical lenses to study cross border governance: market forces, policy activities, political clout, and culture of border land communities. I propose to start from an attempt to define cohesion within pre-existing national systems (with the tool of the 6 "cities"). Brunet Jailly's remark about boundaries that not only delineate the boundary of governments, but also bind social networks and most human interactions, provides a reason to do so. On a state border, before any interaction, the reality is at first 2 national systems back to back. When trying to think out of national boxes, none of the explanations of boundaries given by geographers, historians, political scientists, or economists, is fully satisfying, Thus Brunet Jailly advocates a theory of borders, including as well agency (activities of individuals) and structure (market forces, laws). There he is close to Boltanski calling for overcoming the opposition between individualist and structuralist approaches.

28   The Euro Institute of Kehl has developed many studies and tools dealing with interculturality, on the border between France, Germany and Switzerland.

29   FALUDI, A., "Territorial cohesion, territorialism, territoriality, and soft planning: a critical review", *op.cit.*; CASTELLS, M., *The Rise of the Network Society, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 1996 (second edition 2009).

How to build a European common good, how to compose six cities across Europe? The originality of the Monnet method has been to implement them separately and gradually, without seeking to establish them simultaneously, even if he intended to build these cities from the start. The first cities to be built have been the city of market, and the industrial city of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and trans-European networks; then the civic city with the European Parliament, the city of fame with the emergence of European media and the "soft governance", without forgetting the domestic city of the interpersonal networks; finally the inspired city. The Treaty of Lisbon evokes the European common "moral and spiritual heritage", after hard discussions about the inclusion or not of the Christian roots of Europe into the treaty.

IV. The building of a cross-border common good at the scale of a cross-border region

Cross-border regions typically require governance, as government is supposed to stay stuck within national frameworks. The typology proposed by Hooghe and Marks[30] is here a useful tool. These authors analyze multi-level governance on the basis of two complementary models, which can be related to Boltanski and Thévenot's theory: governance I (nested authorities, "hard" spaces) echoes the "civic city"; governance II (functional arrangements with variable geometry, "soft" spaces), echoes the "industrial city". Due to the asymmetry of multilevel governance systems across the border, when building a cross-border governance system, one has to face two or more different ways to manage the cities; and different compromises between them.[31]

The following table describes schematically the characteristics (evaluation, relevant information, relevant objects, modes of relations, capacity of individuals) which are brought into play when analyzing cross-border integration with the help of the six cities model[32].

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30   HOOGHE, L., MARKS, G., "Types of multi-level governance", *EIOP*, 2001, http://eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2001-011.pdf (2.3.2006).

31   We have proposed four scenarios for the governance of the EU, building on two axes: governance I and governance II with more or less intensity. FALUDI, A., PEYRONY, J., "Cohesion Policy Contributing to Territorial Cohesion – Future Scenarios", *Nordregio*, 2011, http://www.nordregio.se/global/EJSD/refereed%20articles/refereed43.pdf (2.3.2016).

32   Table inspired by THÉVENOT, L., "Critical tensions and compromises between definitions of the common good", in: ABI., *Decentralization of organizations and coordination problems*, Paris. We have added 5 new lines in the table: one about possible crisis, one about the role of the cities in the history of European integration, one about current European tools, one about obstacles, and one about tools to cross border integration.

	Domestic City	City of fame	Market City	Industrial City	Civic City	Inspired City
Evaluation mode	reputation	dissemination of opinion	price, utility	performance, effectiveness	general interest	originality
Reference in philosophy	Bossuet	Hobbes	A. Smith	Saint Simon	Rousseau	Saint Augustin
Type of relevant information	example	opinion	monetary	statistical measure	legislative, regulatory	belief, vision
Objects concerned	heritage	sign	goods and services	objects and technical standards	laws, regulations	things invested with emotion
Relationship	trust	communication	exchange	functional	solidarity	passion
Capacity of persons	authority	notoriety	desire, purchasing power	technical competence	ability to represent general interest, responsibility	creativity
Risk of crisis (catastrophic perspective)	violent destruction of the community	media lynching, tyranny of opinion	exclusion of third parties by the double (Dumouchel) violence of currency (Aglietta, Orlean)	counter-productivity, heteronomy (Illich, Dupuy), excluded third	internal and external violence, borders as residual horizontal transcendence (Beckouche)	fundamentalism, war of civilizations
Contribution to the history of European integration	Hanse	Europe of scholars	Common market	ECSC, Euratom	Treaty of Rome	moral and spiritual European heritage
Current European tools	inter-personal networks	soft governance, open method of coordination, European media	single market	European Commission, EU policies, TEN networks, public services	European Parliament, Council, CoR, EESC	Europe of culture, dialogue with the Churches,…
Obstacles to cross-border integration	cooperation fatigue, lack of trust	bias, absence of common knowledge	trade barriers	diverging norms, lack of interoperability	dissymmetry of competences, lack of synchrony	different languages, cultures
Tools for cross-border integration	inter-personal networks, micro projects	CB media CB observation	CB markets, Infobest	CB public services	Euroregions EGTCs CB councils	language learning, common history books Euro institutes

We will now briefly discuss our model in the case of cross-border agglomerations. Let us consider at first Greater Geneva. A genuine cross-border living area, the France-Vaud-Geneva conurbation brings together 946,000 inhabitants (half of whom live in Geneva) and represents around 451,000 jobs. Cross border flows of workers mainly go from France to Switzerland, with more than 80 000 travels a day (including 18 000 international civil servants, and 20 000 Swiss living on the French side).

Cross-border initiatives begun over forty years ago. They respond to the desire to create an echelon of governance reflecting the solidarities that link the Canton of Geneva, the District of Nyon in Vaud Canton and the neighbouring French local authorities. Since 2005, the partners in these territories have formulated a conurbation project, whose Charter of Commitment was signed on 5 December 2007. Six years later, on 28 February 2013, the conurbation, having become known as *Grand Genève* (Greater Geneva), took the form of a Local Cross-border Cooperation Grouping (LCCG). It is made up of an assembly composed of the 22 representatives of the Greater Geneva partners, and two technical bodies: the technical committee and the project team which directs it.

In 1973, a system of annual financial equalization between Canton of Genève and French Départements of Ain and Haute-Savoie was created, compensating the fact that French cross border workers pay their income tax in Geneva, but benefit from public infrastructure in France. This allows to fund infrastructure projects mainly linked to housing and transport; eg extension of the tramway line from Genève to CERN, and a high level service level bus between Gex and et Ferney-Voltaire, at the border. Moreover, CEVA, a new regional train line of 16 kilometers (including 1,8 kilometer on the French side) will allow to connect Canton de Vaud (Nyon) and Haute-Savoie (Annemasse) through Genève (Cornavin railway station, Cointrin airport) and to create a genuine regional network between France and Switzerland, with the Swiss federation co-financing investment in France- as part of the federal agglomeration policy, funding infrastructures in Swiss metropolises, including cross-border Basel and Geneva.

The Greater Geneva illustrates the complex games between cities in the cross border context. In 2014, bad news has been the Swiss *votation* (referendum) at federal level asking to limit the freedom of movement for workers; and the *votation* at the level of the Canton of Genève, that cancelled the cross border funding of Park and Ride in France, which was the logical complement to the funding of cross border public transport by the Canton. So there is a clear trouble in the emerging cross border "civic city": for the moment, in the Swiss part of Greater Geneva sub area, citizens seem to resent some "*fatigue*" about solidarity at the agglomeration level- and one cannot change the people. Good news is that the dynamic Swiss economy still requires external human resource (including cross border workers), which will probably lead the Confederation to reconsider the limitation of freedom of movement; and the cross border tramway and train investments are still on track. This shows that cross border market and industrial cities go on, whenever the civic city is in trouble.

The lesson is that the complex game of incrementally building the six cities shows some resilience- as Monnet and Schuman had guessed. When there is a problem within one city, others can go on; but this should not lead to disengage from the building of each one of the six cities.

Let us consider a second case study. The *Mission Opérationnnelle Trans-frontalière* (MOT) has been the lead partner of the URBACT-EGTC project on "Expertizing Governance of Transfrontier Conurbations (2008–2010)".[33] The acronym of the project, EGTC, was a play on the words, EGTC meaning as well "European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation", which is the legal tool created by the EU in 2007. The first EGTC in Europe has been the *Eurometropolis* Lille Kortrijk Tournai launched by Pierre Mauroy, at the time Mayor of Lille, with his Belgian colleagues. The project has gathered six cross-border agglomerations: *Eurometropolis* Lille Kortrijk Tournai (BE/FR), *Eurodistrict* Strasbourg Ortenau and Trinational Eurodistrict Basel (DE/FR), *Eurocidade* Chaves Verin (ES/PT), Frankfurt Oder Slubice conurbation (DE/PL), and Ister Granum EGTC (HU/SK). Each of the cross-border cities has produced a local action plan on urban governance; a Manuel and a "European Action plan" with recommendations have been also produced.

A few years after its closure, it is useful to read it again, in the light of the evolution of these conurbations and policy discussions. The existence of a number of cross border urban systems in Europe – which, when the project was launched in 2008 was a rather new topic, has been acknowledged at the political level, for instance at the occasion of the Luxemburg presidency of the 2nd semester 2015[34]. Moreover, the regulations for the period 2014/2020, in which have been developed new tools for integrated territorial development, such as Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI), explicitly offer the opportunity for cross border territories to benefit from these tools, with the possible support of EGTCs. On the other hand, EGTCs have developed on some borders, but not everywhere in Europe; and when they exist, cross border programs don't necessarily give them the place they expected in the strategy or the governance of the programs. The ideal type sketched by the Commission: cross border agglomerations governed by an EGTC, supported through an ITI[35], has occurred rarely so far.

Coming back to the URBACT project, it had identified the need of a "Leadership" agenda of CB governance, requiring a major role for individual political leaders; the organization of the technical work (with dedicated staff/administrations); articulation between the politicians and the technicians; financial solidarity; the institutionalization of a collective leadership (e.g. through an EGTC). If we take some critical distance, this appears to be a Durkheimian vision, typical of what Boltanski and Thévenot have coined as a "civic- industrial compromise", and of the French understanding of the legitimacy of public intervention.

But different visions are possible. On the same border between France and Switzerland, the cross-border governance is more institutionalized for Geneva that for Basel. Multi-level governance exists in the different areas, but the approach is more bottom-up in Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai than in Strabourg-Ortenau. Processes giving a bigger role to market arrangements are visible in Northern

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33   http://urbact.eu/egtc (2.3.2017).
34   LISER study, "Opportunities of cross-border cooperation between small and medium cities in Europe", 30.6.2015, http://www.dat.public.lu/eu-presidency/Events/Workshop-3/Opportunities-of-cross-border-cooperation-between-small-and-medium-cities-in-Europe-_LISER_.pdf (2.3.2017).
35   http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/pdf/iti_en.pdf (2.3.2017)

Europe, at borders between Germany and Netherlands, or in Scandinavian countries. The URBACT project has also identified the need of a "Community" policy of the cross-border governance networks (or), requiring the involvement of civil society; the development of cross-border projects implying an active role of the local population; the role of media concerning the connection leaders-citizens of the cross border conurbation; and the use of participative democracy to develop a sense of cross border community. But since 2010, as said before, it appears that the people may vote against cross border integration, and that borders may temporarily close again, due to migration crisis or terrorist attacks. .

As Boltanski and Thévenot explain, controversies happen between "cities"; and actors also build agreements between them. The use of their grid can help to understand such controversies and agreements, on each side of the border, and in the cross border context. For instance a cross border council of development involving "socio economic actors" can be seen as an arrangement favoring compromises between diverse "cities" (civic, market …). It can allow analyzing the diversity of paths of cooperation, against a too much normative approach. According to the conclusions of the URBACT-EGTC project handbook:

> "the management of cross-border urban areas has three cyclic dynamics: first, the governance system used at the cross-border level is still based on soft procedures such as negotiation and consensus, without a common legal structure; it then enters a phase of intensification of cross-border institutionalization over the years. Secondly, there is a constant renewal of integrated spatial visions nourishing strategic political debates but also trust and collective imaginaries among public leaders. Finally, concrete actions are increasingly designed to relate to the daily lives of the inhabitants of border areas."[36]

All the six cities are there: civic ("institutionalization", inspired ("spatial visions"), domestic ("trust"), opinion ("soft procedures"), market and industrial ("concrete actions for the daily lives of the inhabitants"). But retrospectively, one can be struck by the normativity of the statement, which can be found also in the lessons that the DG Regio of the Commission draws from the 25 years of Interreg. In communication documents presented in this occasion, the steps of the co-operation process appear as the layers of a birthday cake: from the bottom up : trust building, connectivity, health, safety, growth, as if the process of co-operation was inevitably leading to cross border integration and benefits for the inhabitants of the cross border region. The idea that the steps of knowing each other; then moving physical obstacles; then moving towards an economic integration would be a linear process may prove far too simple. As the case of the Greater Geneva or others show, real processes in cross border regions might be less linear and more chaotic.

Conclusion

This has consequences for the cross border strand of the Cohesion policy and its future, which is on the agenda since the cross border review launched by the

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36   http://urbact.eu/egtc (2.3.2017).

Commission in 2015. If national opinions diverge, sometimes more and more, on borders, the present orientation of the policy towards the achievement of UE 2020 strategy with its technocratic objectives, with an evaluation based mainly on socio- economic outcome indicators, may have to be reconsidered.

Beyond economic and technical goals, programs may have to care also for the early learning of the neighbor's language- after all, language appears as the 2nd obstacle, just behind legal and administrative obstacles, in the results of the European consultation of 2015; for the development of interpersonal links through micro project funds; for the building of sustainable cross border observation systems so as to provide a common understanding of the region; for cross border media contributing to a common society; for places of intercultural training and capitalization, such as Euro-institutes; for projects in the field of education, to develop a sense of belonging and common visions.

What is at stake here is to progressively achieve integration in cross border regions as well as EU, that would be at the same time prosperous, efficient, democratic, understandable, convivial and inspired.

INTÉGRATION DES RÉGIONS TRANSFRONTALIÈRES : OBSTACLES ET SOLUTIONS

La contribution esquisse une approche générale des obstacles à l'intégration des régions transfrontalières et les solutions possibles. Elle propose de définir l'intégration à travers les concepts de cohésion sociale et territoriale qui soustendent la politique de cohésion européenne. Pour cela elle s'appuie sur la sociologie française, plus précisément le concept de cohésion sociale chez Durkheim et le modèle des six « cités » de Boltanski et de Thévenot. Ce modèle permet de décrire les composantes de la cohésion au sein de contextes nationaux : la cité domestique (réseaux de personnes) ; la cité de l'opinion (médias) ; la cité du marché ; la cité industrielle (infrastructures, services publics) ; la cité civique (politique) ; et la cité inspirée (culture, vision). Le modèle est ensuite utilisé pour envisager les constituants possibles de ce que serait une cohésion de l'Europe et des régions transfrontalières, et donc les obstacles à leur intégration, dans le cadre de la gouvernance à plusieurs niveaux caractéristique de la coopération transfrontalière dans l'UE. Ce modèle est brièvement illustré dans le cas du Grand Genève et d'autres agglomérations transfrontalières. La contribution se conclut par quelques considérations sur l'avenir de la politique de cohésion.

INTEGRATION DER GRENZREGIONEN: HINDERNISSE UND LÖSUNGEN

Der Beitrag beschreibt einen allgemeinen Ansatz zu Hindernissen für die Integration von Grenzregionen und möglichen Lösungen. Er schlägt vor, die Integration durch die Konzepte der sozialen und territorialen Kohäsion zu definieren, die

der Europäischen Kohäsionspolitik zugrunde liegen. Dafür stützt er sich auf die französische Soziologie, insbesondere auf das Konzept der sozialen Kohäsion von Durkheim und das Modell der sechs "Cities" von Boltanski und Thévenot. Dieses Modell wird verwendet, um die Komponenten der Kohäsion im nationalen Kontext zu beschreiben: die häusliche City (Netzwerke von Menschen); die City der Meinung (Medien); die City des Marktes; die City der Industrie (Infrastruktur, öffentliche Dienste); die staatsbürgerliche City (Politik); und die City der Inspiration (Kultur, Vision). Das Modell wird dann verwendet, um mögliche Komponenten für die Kohäsion in Europa und in Grenzregionen zu identifizieren und somit auch die Hindernisse für die Integration im Rahmen einer Mehrebenen-Governance, die für die grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit in der EU charakteristisch ist. Dieses Modell wird dann anhand des Großraums Genf und anderer grenzüberschreitender Agglomerationen kurz veranschaulicht. Der Beitrag schließt mit einigen Überlegungen zur Zukunft der Kohäsionspolitik.